PEACE NEWS

No. 1,162 London, Oct. 3, 1958. 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

BIG PUSH AT SCARBOROUGH

ALAN LOVELL and LEONARD BIRD report from SCARBOROUGH

LABOUR Party delegates attending the Scarborough Conference have been made well aware of the H-bomb issue. Both the Labour Peace Fellowship and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have held well attended meetings and demonstrations.

The Labour Peace Fellowship held an excellent meeting on Monday. The speakers were Walter Monslow, M.P., Emrys Hughes, M.P., Minnie Pallister and Fenner Brockway, M.P. The hall was full.

Emrys Hughes said he thought the peace movement was getting somewhere. Mr. Gaitskell's statement on Quemoy was evidence of this.

If we kept pushing we could achieve a lot more, he said.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament held a march through Scarborough on Sunday.

Over 800 people, men, women and children—and some perambulators—took part in it. Banners denounced nuclear warfare and called for the banning of the H-bomb. Those carried by a large Quaker contingent declared "The Quakers oppose all war."

Local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament supporters say that it was one of the biggest marches that have taken place in that part of the country.

Priestley warns Labour

In the evening the Campaign held a public meeting which filled the Olympia Ballroom.

J. B. Priestley pointed out that the mere existence of the H-bomb threat was a danger. It brutalised all our actions.

"No issue competes with this," he claimed, and told the meeting, which included many Labour Party delegates: "Your Party got us into this and you must get us out. No one should be ready to talk about the good life and at the same time be ready to keep these bombs."

A. J. P. Taylor said that the present policy of the Labour Party was to keep the bomb for negotiation, and that Communists at the Trade Union Congress had voted against unilateral nuclear disarmament because they feared Britain would recapture the moral leadership of the world.

"It would be better to lose the next General Election than to stand for nuclear warfare," he declared.

John Horner, of the Fire Brigades Union, said that after attending C.D. lectures his members had come to the conclusion their best contribution was to take part in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Young people he had picked up on returning from Aldermaston had said they didn't like the political speeches.

"We must give a lead to these young people. They see no virtue in our saying we are safer for having the H-bomb.

* * *

It is the opinion of your correspondents that if the Labour Party decides against the renunciation of the H-bomb it will be no fault of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Labour Peace Fellowship.

PICKETS SQUAT 6 DAYS, 5 NIGHTS AT A-PLANT

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

DR. DONALD SOPER returned to Aldermaston last Saturday morning in a further attempt to secure an interview with the Director of Britain's atomic weapons plant.

After a short discussion with senior security officials Dr. Soper was told that the Deputy Director was not in the plant.

In the afternoon more than 50 nuclear disarmament campaigners gathered outside the plant to greet 16 members of a Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War group who had stayed in the bus park at the plant for six days and five nights in an attempt to secure an interview.

In addition to spending five cold and wet nights on the tarmac, one member of the group, Will Warren, a Quaker, has been sacked because his firm refused to allow him a week's leave of absence such as would normally be granted to men going to Territorial Army camps.

As the squatters left the bus park at 6 p.m. two boys from Leighton Park School, Reading, stepped forward with bunches of flowers for all the ladies in the group. Onlookers cheered and police and security guards smiled at this unexpected incident.

Local Press tribute

A convoy of cars, including two decorated loud-speaker vans, one in front and one at the rear, took the squatters and their supporters to Castle Hill, Reading, where, with banners floodlit by the leading loud-speaker car, the whole group marched through the town to the YMCA, where arrangements had been made for the reception of the party.

"None of us suffered any ill-effects from the soaking we received during the heavy rain on Tuesday night," April Carter, Secretary to the Committee, told Peace News. Dry blankets and clothing were sent down and sympathisers in nearby towns and villages came out with sizzling hot sausages and drinks.

There has been widespread sympathy for the group's action from local people, individual guards, police officers, and the Press.

An editorial in the Bournemouth Evening Echo (Sept. 23) voiced the view of many people that Sir William Penney, Director of the plant, or his deputy, should have met

● ON BACK PAGE

Kathleen Lonsdale reports back

Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, F.R.S., who gives her impressions on page six of the second Atoms-for-Peace Conference and the third "Pugwash Conference" (with which Bertrand Russell's name is associated), will be known to many as the author of "Is Peace Possible?" A sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, she is Professor of Chemistry and Head of the Department of Crystallography at University College, London.

ENDURANCE AT ALDERMASTON

Top: Sitting in the pouring rain during Tuesday night.

Photo: Austin Underwood.

Below: The end of the vigil—last Saturday at 6.p.m.

" I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another "
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis, of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters
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PROFILE

VERA BRITTAIN

By Margaret Tims

THE new Chairman of Peace News, Vera Brittain, is new in no other sense either to the paper or to the movement it serves. She has been on its Board of Directors since she joined the Peace Pledge Union in 1937.

In an interview at her Whitehall flat overlooking the River Thames she recalled some of the experiences that have led to this position.

Made famous almost overnight with the publication of her " Testament of Youth " in 1933, Vera Brittain was soon launched on the first of a series of lecture tours in the United States that has continued up to the present time. In this country she lectured widely in the 1930s for the League of Nations Union until her growing uneasiness with the policies of collective security which she was publicly advocating drove her increasingly into sympathy with her pacifist " hecklers."

VERA BRITTAIN

Conversion to pacifism

In " Testament of Experience," published last year, she describes her final conversion to pacifism, following a mass-rally at Dorchester, where she shared a platform with George Lansbury, Donald Soper and Dick Sheppard, with Laurence Housman in the Chair. Shortly afterwards Dick Sheppard invited her to be a sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, and, not without a struggle, she accepted the commitment to which she has since held fast in both peace and war.

From the start, she was fully aware of its implications. " . . . to follow Dick," she writes, " meant treading the way of the Cross in modern guise. He pointed to a path which might end, not in crucifixion or a den of lions, but at internment, the concentration camp and the shooting squad."

As a pacifist during the Second World War—she had been a VAD in the first—Vera Brittain refused official invitations to do propaganda work for the Ministry of Information and devoted her talents towards mitigating the worst consequences of total war and preparing the conditions of peace. She served on the Bombing Restriction Committee and was for two years Chairman of the Food Relief Campaign.

Her " Letter to Peace Lovers," started in 1939 and continuing through the war, reached a circulation of nearly 2,000 and never missed an issue. In 1943 she compiled, with her husband George Catlin, an anthology of acts of compassion between enemies entitled " Above All Nations."

Peace pledge in 1958

In recent years, with the appointment of Professor Catlin to the Chair of Political Science at McGill University, Montreal, Vera Brittain has been able to spend a good deal of her time across the Atlantic. After her return to Canada next month she will be lecturing right across the continent from Toronto to California. As Chairman of Peace News she hopes to act as a link between the English-speaking peoples.

Comparing the British and American peace movements, she warmly praises the educational work of the American Friends Service Committee in sponsoring lecture tours and seminars with top-flight speakers. Let all the British pacifist organisations get together, she urges, for a programme of public education.

What is the significance of the peace pledge in 1958? She suggests that it is moral rather than political. Nuclear weapons have completely changed the political position of the pacifist organisations: nuclear disarmament, though by no means the whole story, is a necessary and important part of it. In America the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has put more emphasis on the constructive uses of nuclear energy than has its British counterpart.

As well as being Chairman of Peace News Vera Brittain is a Counsellor for the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, a Vice-President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

She is also writing another book (her twenty-fourth) to be called " A Fragment of History." This is the story of women at Oxford, where she was herself a student. What about women and war? The special attitude of women which was anticipated by the feminist pioneers has not materialised. This is due, she thinks, both to education, which has reduced the differences in outlook between the sexes, and to modern weapons, which in attacking all humanity have reduced the biological differences.

TV appearance

As readers of her auto-biographical books will know, Vera Brittain has never had an easy life. But she maintains her faith in the humane values and her striving to put them into effect. Nor is she pessimistic about the future. No responsible statesman anywhere, she believes, would start a nuclear war. And public opinion is becoming increasingly conscious of the great issues at stake.

She feels that mass-communications need not breed apathy if intelligently used; TV and radio discussion programmes, for instance, have helped to promote this consciousness.

The British viewer's consciousness is likely to receive a further fillip on Oct. 5, when Vera Brittain is herself appearing in the " Brains Trust " on BBC Television: a living testament of faith in the possibility, as well as the desirability, of a world at peace.

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A MAP OF MRS. BROWN

TO THE EDITOR

I HAD not intended to say any more about Mrs. B., because the " key people," who *could* have helped, have as many excuses as the gentleman in the fourteenth chapter of Luke, who were invited to supper.

In the letters published (and the much larger number addressed to me personally) I have observed two general tendencies. One is a tendency to put the cart before the horse, by announcing all the things that Mrs. B. must accept before she can be saved. These " essentials " vary considerably; but (whether the prescriptions are good or not) the doctors don't explain *how Mrs. B. is to be persuaded* to try any of the various medicines. And that was the problem with which I was—and still am—concerned.

The other tendency was for most writers to assume that they knew all about Mrs. Brown, implying that no enquiry was necessary. To such people I can only reply that I expect to see spectacular results from them in the near future.

* * *

It is Michael Randle's letter (PN. Sept 19) that prompts me to write now, because it is more thoughtful than others I have seen—excluding a few practical offers of help. Michael Randle shares one view that some others have expressed, namely, that " major political and social reforms have occurred in the past without her (Mrs. B's support." I don't dispute it. But the kind of change for which *I* am working cannot and will not be accomplished by a pressure group or even a *putsch*.

A full pacifist society just isn't possible without the co-operation of the Brown family. Also, even on a political level (since we live in a political democracy) minorities will remain ineffective until they can transform themselves into majorities. You can slide *some* things past an unsuspecting electorate, but not pacifism. And if we don't make some headway with the Browns, there will be plenty of people who are willing to stampede them *against* us.

Michael Randle's suggestion of studying examples of successful action in the past is good—provided that we remember how rapidly our world is changing. Some old and " tried " methods are demonstrably less effective. New methods need to be explored. Here, again, I agree with Michael Randle that experiments are necessary. It's also true that I make them myself. Hence my interest in " protest ships " last year (nothing to do with Harold Steele, by the way—it was simply an idea that commended itself to various people.)

Today I'm not so sure. The Golden Rule has failed to do what I hoped such ventures might do—catch the imagination of the public. I am more than ever convinced that the basis of experiment should be a closer study of those we desire to influence. And at this point it may be necessary to explain that to me " Mrs. Brown " is not confined to any class or level of intellect and education. She is ubiquitous. She is Professor Brown, Dr. Brown, Mrs. de Vere Brown; her husband is perhaps a bank clerk and her children include everything from teachers to teddy boys. It's a big assignment.

* * *

Michael Randle talks of " cleverly contrived questions." I never mentioned them. I am no more able to anticipate the best methods of research than I am to anticipate the conclusions. So I don't know why I am said to be " over-intellectualising."

If I dare to guess, I should say that the problem lay deeper than the intellect, in the emotional life—and that hint I gave in my article. But it *is* only a hint. Most of my critics don't hint. They know all the answers. They are so sure that they are quite worried at the thought of an enquiry—which seems odd.

So I say to Michael Randle, " By all means go on with your hunches. I do the same. What else can we do? But God gave us brains and we might as well use them, at least, in an emergency." On this point I think we are in agreement.—**REGINALD REYNOLDS, 20 Jubilee Place, London, S.W.3.**

Other letters on page 7.

' A wonderful selection of cards—the best ever' says a P.N. reader
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Christmas cards and Gifts
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From the army to Peace News

ALAN Lovell has joined the staff of Peace News as Assistant Editor in place of Gene Sharp who went to Oslo in June to carry out research into the theory and practice of non-violence.

Alan Lovell

Aged 23, Alan Lovell was born in Cardiff and educated at a local grammar school there. He was conscripted in 1953 and learnt Russian on the Army Russian course. After completing nearly 17 months of his National Service he became a conscientious objector and was court martialled and sentenced to three months' imprisonment in Wormwood Scrubs.

He was released from prison by the advisory tribunal and completed his period of service as a hospital porter.

In 1955, he went up to Magdalen College, Oxford, and read modern history there. He got a degree in 1958 and joined the staff immediately after he left Oxford.

The future of Central Africa

HAVE the constitutional safeguards for African interests been effective during the first five years of Federation in Central Africa? Who will be entitled to vote in the 1958 Federal elections? What are the alternatives for the future of Central Africa?

These are some of the questions discussed in "The Constitution and Race Relations in Central Africa," a new pamphlet published by the Africa Bureau. The author, Faith Raven, presents important points which need to be taken into consideration when vital decisions are made about the future of Central Africa now and in 1960. Also included is a map showing the division of land between Africans and Europeans.

The pamphlet is obtainable, price 1s. 6d., from the publishers, 65, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., London, S.W.1, or Housmans.

Briefly

"The CO Dormant In a Modern Society?" is the title of a talk to be given by W. E. Lawn, Parliamentary candidate and Co-operative Movement Educational Secretary, at the Yorkshire Annual CO Reunion at Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, on Saturday, Oct. 18.

Only twelve out of California's 35,000 churches refused to sign that state's loyalty oath, reports the Christian Century (Aug 20, 1958). Of the three churches whose challenge was upheld in the Supreme Court one was the First Methodist Church of San Leandro, whose pastor, Robert Moon, is Vice-chairman of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

After a meeting attended by nearly 300 people in Hobart, Tasmania (population 90,000) recently, a call for stopping H-bomb tests was sent to the Press and a number of MPs.

Talks between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan in New Delhi recently were described as "very useful." The Speaker of Lok Sabha held a reception in Parliament House for the visitors. The wife of the Pakistani Premier, Begum Noon, cut a cake decorated with the flags of India and Pakistan.

World Day for Animals is to be observed this year on Oct. 4, the thirtieth anniversary of its founding. It is organised by the World League Against Vivisection and for Protection of Animals, 42 Aberdeen Road, London, N.5.

Aldermaston: Unique experiment comes to a close

170 BROUGHT VITAL ISSUE TO TOWNS AND VILLAGES

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

AN experiment unique in the history of British peace activity has come to a close at Aldermaston.

During nine weeks 170 people have taken part in the picket organised by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War outside Britain's sprawling Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, and have made the issue of the manufacture of the bomb a talking point in towns and villages over a wide area.

The majority of the pickets have been under 35, but three or four elderly ladies have taken part; also a cripple in a bath-chair.

The AWRE workers' reception of the pickets has been on the whole amiable.

"In the course of canvassing the workers' estate and the contractor's labourers' camp," said a spokesman for the Committee, "we have, on numerous occasions, been told by workers that they do not believe in the H-bomb; that indeed we were right to be picketing the plant. The prospect of losing a well-paid job and nice house seems, in quite a number of cases, to have been the barrier preventing certain workers from leaving the plant."

Risked their jobs

Thirty-two workers have now jeopardised their jobs by signing a petition to be sent to the Prime Minister urging that the plant be used only for peaceful work.

Four or five lorry drivers going in and out of the plant have signed the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament petition for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain. Three men who had just finished a job in the AWRE for a firm of contractors told one of the pickets that they never again intended to take a job that involved working in the Establishment.

Three men who had applied, or were about to apply, for jobs in the plant reconsidered their decision to do so as a result of the picket.

One, a Pakistani, had not fully realised that the plant's chief function is nuclear weapons research until he talked to the pickets.

Appeal to workers

Mr. Holland, of Wantage, an elderly man recently laid off a driver's job at an RAF base, who had come out to apply for a job in the AWRE was persuaded by one of the pickets to turn right round and go home and look for a job not related to nuclear weapons. Five lorry drivers have stated their intention of refusing ever again to drive loads of materials into the plant.

As reported elsewhere in Peace News, a group of the picketers sat outside the gate last week with a demand to see the Director or his Deputy.

The final leaflet given to the workers at the plant appealed to them as "members of the human race" to recognise their responsibility for the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

"We believe that the action of each single person is of supreme importance.

"The growth of the campaign against nuclear weapons illustrates this.

Start hundreds saying 'No'

"A year ago Harold Steele risked his life and risked leaving his children fatherless by attempting to sail as a protest against the H-bomb into the Christmas Island testing area. It was by a small group who supported his venture that the Easter March to Aldermaston was planned. So one man set thousands marching—and the March made an impact all over the world.

"We ask you to leave your jobs because we believe that you also are responsible for what you do and that your refusal to work any longer at Aldermaston could be as effective as Harold Steele's protest.

"You could start hundreds here saying 'No' loudly and emphatically to work on the H-bomb."

The leaflet then went on to describe the attempt being made to see the Director.

Defence of USA by non-violent resistance

COULD the United States hope to defend itself against Russia or any other nation by means other than military?

Many pacifists would think so. Bradford Lyttle, Associate Peace Secretary of the Chicago Friends Service Committee not only thinks so, he has also produced, after considerable study and travel, a booklet which sets out in practical terms to describe "National Defence Through Non-violent Resistance."*

After an introduction the theory of non-violent resistance is dealt with and the main parts of a non-violent national defence programme to replace the present military defence is outlined.

The Federal Government organisation for the new method of defence is covered from the point of view of structure, the necessary sub-committees and their work.

Of the various other sections, the international status of the USA preparing for such a changeover receives attention, and invasion and occupation is not overlooked.

The booklet, which will be reviewed later in Peace News, opens with a practical programme of demilitarisation "which should occur immediately" and ends with some hard-hitting criticisms together with some thoughtful replies.

*40 *cents from the Chicago Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee, 59 East Madison St., Chicago 2, Illinois. USA; or 3s. from Housmans, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.*

They want him removed

Because their District Superintendent, Dr. Andrew Trunipseed, has been so active against the colour bar, 100 Methodist laymen in Mobile, Alabama, USA, have asked their Bishop to remove him from his post. A member of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation since 1940, Dr. Trunipseed has been a leader in mobilising white ministerial support for the ending of the colour bar on buses and elsewhere.

The suit to halt nuclear testing brought by 18 plaintiffs against the US Government was dismissed in the Federal District Court in Washington in July. It is intended to appeal as far as the Supreme Court as well as continuing efforts to sue in Britain, France and the Soviet Union.

IN YOUR HOME?

The P.N. Fund

TO-MORROW I shall be dashing from one side of London to the other visiting Bazaars where money is being raised for Peace News.

At this time of the year many of our friends are arranging special fund-raising efforts for the paper—and finding the occasion one for meeting old and new friends in the peace cause.

Last year Miss X (she likes to remain anonymous) had an invitation duplicated, which she took round to her friends, announcing that she would be displaying a selection of Endsleigh Cards and Gifts at her home. Tea and biscuits (6d.) would be supplied.

Friends who could not come donated £5—others who did come made many purchases, and the Peace News Fund profited in all by £16.

If you would like to draft your invitation and send it to us, saying how many copies you require, we will gladly do the duplicating here and also send a supply of cards and gifts on sale or return, not to mention our best wishes for a jolly evening.

By way of a postscript. An American reader has sent us a cheque for $500, as an expression of appreciation of the peace activity going on in Britain. Encouragement, we hope, for the difficult task ahead of raising £771 by the end of the year.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions received since Sept. 19: £214 5s. 11d.

Contributions received since Feb. 1, 1958: £1,229 3s. 9d.

Still needed before Feb. 1, 1959: £771.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: Anon. Barrow, 2s. 6d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

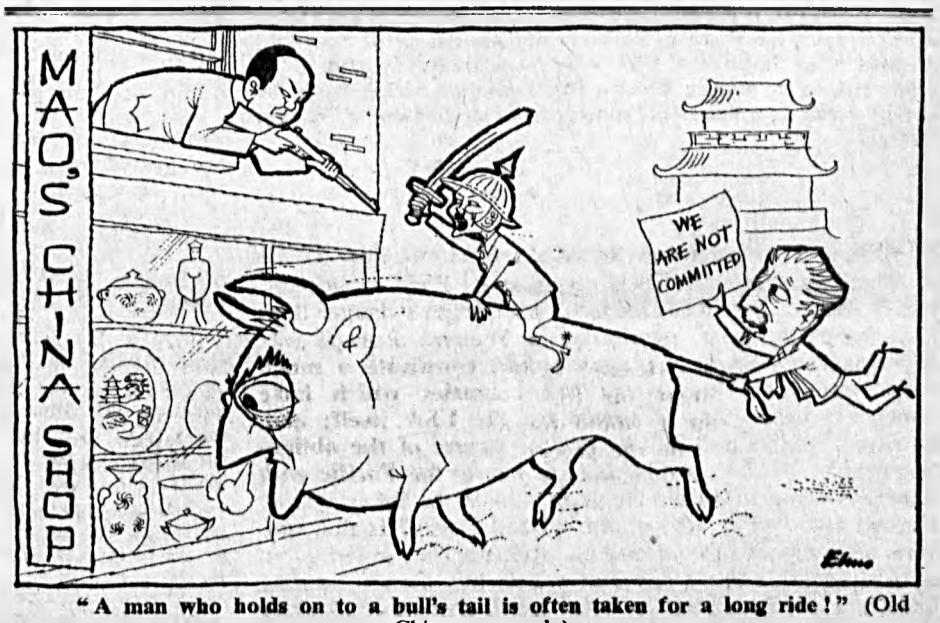
Jailed war resister got 700 cards

OVER 700 Christmas cards were received by one imprisoned French war resister last year as a result of the Prisoner's for Peace Day scheme during which people in 19 countries showed their appreciation for the stand of all conscientious objectors behind bars.

"Now it is time to begin preparations for the third annual Prisoners for Peace Day, December 1, 1958," says the War Resisters' International.

The WRI also asks that it be kept informed of all activities undertaken and that messages be sent to its headquarters for the General Secretary to read at the Foundation meeting of the Nigerian Section of the WRI which will take place on Prisoners for Peace Day, 1958, at Uyo, Nigeria.

For further information contact the General Secretary, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx.



"A man who holds on to a bull's tail is often taken for a long ride!" (Old Chinese proverb.)

PEACE NEWS
The International Pacifist Weekly
Editorial and Publishing office:
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Tel: STAmford Hill 2262
Distribution office for U.S.A.:
20 S. Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Registered as a newspaper. Second class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa.

The will of the U.S.

ON his return from New York Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that he was slightly more optimistic about Formosa than when he left London ten days earlier; and although there is no indication that the Warsaw talks are likely to lead to any positive result it now seems probable that they will serve the purpose of temporarily transferring this issueless struggle to the diplomatic table.

The struggle is "issueless" while it is left to the two contestants, China and the United States, alone. The basic assumptions upon which these approach each other are irreconcilable through a wilful blindness by the US Government and its persistent obscuring of the basic issue.

One of the suggested terms advanced by the US in the Warsaw talks is an indication of the falsity of the US position. In addition to seeking suitable conditions for the withdrawal of Chiang's troops from Quemoy and Matsu, Mr. Beam, the US Ambassador, has suggested that there might be a long-term ceasefire in regard to Formosa. If this could be agreed the US would require Chiang to cease harassing the mainland.

★ ★

IT will be seen that the US attitude is that Chiang Kai-shek exercises some kind of right to operate against the mainland (that it is legitimate, for example, for his forces to take action to throw the Chinese ports of Amoy and Foochow out of operation) while the Chinese are without justification if they take similar action against the off-shore islands.

This threat to world peace will be brought to an end only when there is a concentration of world opinion to impress upon the US Government that its claim to be acting out of a high-minded regard for a rule of law—no "surrender of the principles upon which rest all world order," as Mr. Dulles has it—is seen to be the bogus thing it is.

The US Government is fully aware that Chiang Kai-shek and his military caucus would rapidly collapse, without any need for military action by China, if US forces were to be withdrawn from Formosa. The issue is not the principles of order in international affairs, or even the honouring of an undertaking given to a small nation; it is the maintenance of a "defence" point for the US more than 4,000 miles from its shores on the assumption that the Chinese Government must acquiesce in an active and avowed threat of aggression against it a mere hundred miles away from its coast.

Mr. Dulles sees China's efforts to end this situation as an "arrogant demand," and warns the NATO powers that should the US defer to their desire to come to terms with China consequences would be felt in Western Europe where immunity from aggression depends upon the Russian Government's assessment of "the will of the United States." A USA which was ready to withdraw its support from its puppet, Chiang, Mr. Dulles suggested, might be equally ready to withdraw its support from its satellites in Western Europe.

★ ★

THERE is a dangerous lopsidedness about this. In its Pacific gamble the US is plunging its Pacific satellites, Japan, Korea and Okinawa, into much greater danger than it is incurring itself. Similarly, in Western Europe war between the USA and Russia would constitute a much more immediate threat for the countries which have American bases than it would for the USA itself; and, however limited may be the precise nature of the obligations under NATO, a Chinese-US war in the Pacific with Russia joining in would be highly likely to bring war in Europe too. "The will of the United States" is the concern of everybody in an age of total, nuclear warfare, but in a different sense from that which Mr. Dulles implies. This is a situation that calls for much straighter speaking than the Western Governments have so far engaged upon.

De Gaulle to power

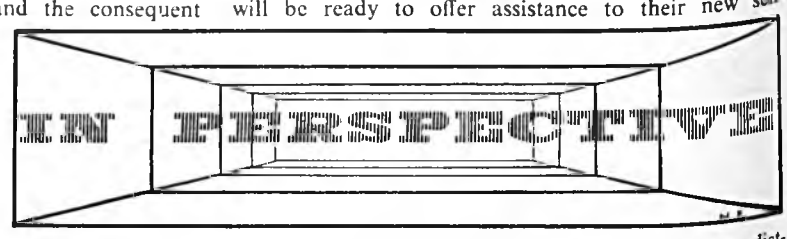
NOW that he has his majority the real testing time for General de Gaulle has arrived, as it has also for France.

The new constitution has many dangerous aspects. In some respects it puts the French governmental arrangements on a similar basis to those of the United States. There will be a separation of the Executive from the Legislature, although in France the cabinet is to be responsible to Parliament, subject to formidable and dangerous over-riding powers vested in the President.

The President will not be elected by a vote of the people as a whole as in the US, but by a method of indirect election which will give the less populated rural areas considerable advantages over the towns. It may quite easily be that a future President will represent a minority of the French people.

The first President under the new constitution will, of course, be the General, unless, in the intervening period required to operate the elections, he has had to disclose too much of his policy and thus set either the Left or the Right solidly against him.

Actually in France the affirmative votes mean little more than votes for de Gaulle and the consequent according to him of the constitution he desires. Too many issues are packed into this single "yes" for it to be able to mean a considered approval of a body of constitutional proposals, and although each voter has been officially provided with a printed copy it is highly unlikely that a majority of the "yes" votes are based on a reading and considered approval of the document. (In Algeria the majority of voters will not have been able to read it at all as over a hundred years of French rule has left them illiterate.)



Who has been sold?

THE great trouble in the fact that the majority of the votes are really being cast for or against de Gaulle is that the voters have been given very little indication what they are voting for.

They have been able to hear or read his speeches, but as a working politician to be vested with such enormous powers he is an unknown quantity. The chances that a man who has moved from an army command to the direction of political affairs will prove a success are not great. We have the example of President Eisenhower in the US.

Apart from this consideration there has been a studied vagueness in most of General de Gaulle's utterances. Words that can be interpreted in different, or even contradictory, senses have been used, and on many important issues the General has carefully refrained from giving any indication at all of what he intends.

He has possibly given certain undertakings to the leaders of M. Mollet's French Socialist Party, the SFIO, and the Radical Socialists, who have induced the majority of their followers to vote for him. People like Alain de Serigny, however, of the extreme right-wing "ultras" of Algeria, are also able to claim that they have received undertakings.

It is apparent that one side or the other is going to regard itself as "sold." Possibly the elections to the Assembly, to be held in November, will help to let the French people know where they stand.

A new hope?

IT may be hoped that one consequence of the French political shake-up will be the coming together of those groups that decided to vote "no" because of the threat to democratic practice in the constitution.

This does not, of course, include the Communists, whose "no" had nothing to do with any love for democracy, and who would go just as far as the Serignys and Biaggis in overthrowing it if the opportunity came their way.

Such a new grouping might very well appeal, however, to a great proportion of those Frenchmen who have voted Communist because of their despair at the policy of the SFIO.

Most of the worth-while members in the SFIO decided to vote "no," and the majority have campaigned against the Mollet majority in the Party in this sense. Similarly, M. Mendes-France and his minority among the Radical Socialists took a similar line and equally campaigned against the majority Party decision. In addition, M. Mitterand and his small UDSR Party declared as a whole for a "no" vote. The immediate need now for those who desire to maintain standards of democratic freedom is a consolidated effort to protect French liberties against the new threat.

We believe that the best of the French "left" is to be found in the minorities mentioned above, and it would be a happy outcome of France's present travail if a new Party worthy of respect could arise that could displace the discredited SFIO and provide a new rallying point for the radical upholders of liberal values in France.

French Guinea

OF the French colonial territories in Africa only French Guinea—on the West Coast, with a population of about 2,250,000—has availed itself of the opportunity to "opt out" of the French Empire. (Algeria, of course, was offered no such opportunity.)

It will now cease its connection with France and presumably with the Federation of West Africa.

There is a striking lack of magnanimity in the immediate announcement by de Gaulle's Government that Guinea will receive no further economic or technical aid from France and that French officialdom in the colony will be withdrawn within a space of two months.

A small people, embarking for the first time on the conduct of its own affairs, will inevitably need help and guidance, and it may be hoped that the North African territories that have already attained to self-government—Ghana, Nigeria, Morocco and Tunisia—will be ready to offer assistance to their new self-governing neighbour despite the difficulty of the distances involved.

Mr. K.'s comment

FOR most of Pravda's readers, Mr. Khrushchov's criticisms of the proposed French Constitution may not have meant anything very specific, for they cannot have the knowledge of democratic standards that can give any very concrete sense to Mr. Khrushchov's strictures. They were probably read as another general indication of Western wickedness.

For people of Western Europe, however, even for those in the Communist Parties, there will inevitably be something grotesque in a condemnation from the Russian Head of State deprecating the threat of "abolishing those liberties which bourgeois democracy concedes;" he charges that there is a plot against the democratic organisations, and deplores that the proposed constitution aims at nullifying the rôle of Parliament," and plans for the establishment of dictatorship by one person.

On this business silence would have become Mr. Khrushchov a great deal better.

Cyprus

THE British Government is persisting in implementing its plan for the administrative provision for two separate communities of Turks and Greeks in the island of Cyprus, involving the appointment by the Greek and Turkish Governments of representatives for advisory purposes.

The Greek Government has refused to make this appointment. The Turkish Government has appointed its representative, although there may be an attitude of conciliation implied in the fact that it seems to be treating this assingment rather tentatively by deputing the Turkish Consul-General in Nicosia to act.

With a view to avoiding this emphasis of a difference in citizenship—a trouble that has only arisen as an aspect of the struggle between the powers over the Island—Archbishop Makarios has advanced a proposal that there shall be an agreement on the independence of Cyprus on the understanding that there shall be an abandonment of the idea of enosis, the future destiny of the Island to be placed in the hands of the United Nations as a guarantee that there shall not be a future move towards enosis without general agreement on the subject.

The British Government has refused to examine this proposal. It is willing to enter into discussion with Greece and Turkey, and representatives of Greek and Turkish Cypriots as suggested by M. Spaak, Secretary-General of NATO, but in the meantime it is pushing ahead with it own plan, the application of which began on Wednesday. The talks proposed by M. Spaak, if they are held, will presumably be concerned with the application of this plan and will rule out the serious consideration of the Archbishop's proposal.

It is exceedingly doubtful whether the Greek Cypriots would agree to be represented in talks on this basis, and the immediate outlook for Cyprus would seem to be particularly unhappy.

Civil Defence

WE should welcome any cuttings from local newspapers giving reports of expositions of civil defence measures.

LET'S LISTEN TO MAKARIOS

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

THIS week is fatal for Cyprus. It is either the week of opportunity for a settlement or the week of final plunge into disaster. I fear that between them Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, and (I regret to add) Sir Hugh Foot will have made it the latter.

The acceptance by Archbishop Makarios of independence rather than union with Greece as the goal for Cyprus provided the opportunity. His proposal that the United Nations should guarantee the neutralisation of the island between Greece and Turkey, his readiness to have international safeguards for the liberties of the Turks in Cyprus, and his anticipation that independent Cyprus would become a member of the Commonwealth removed the last ground of fear by Turkey.

Cyprus could not become a military menace to Turkey. The Turkish minority would walk in freedom on the island.

My regret is that the offer came so late. The British Government was committed even to the point of having fixed the date of the arrival of the Turkish Commissioner. Nevertheless, the concession was so important, the impending tragedy in Cyprus so great, that the hope of agreement should have been embraced at once.

It is not only Cyprus which is involved. There is a real danger that the bitter feeling between Greece and Turkey may threaten peace. This is why the European Governments in NATO would have liked Britain to postpone the start of the Macmillan plan.

The United Nations must not shirk this issue. It should insist upon negotiations directly between representatives of Cyprus, including the Turkish minority, and the British Government.

I have no doubt that the Greek Cypriots would be reasonable. They would ask for early self-government in internal affairs, but I don't think they would oppose separate Turkish and Greek Councils to control communal affairs. They would accept some delay before complete independence.

Barbara Castle

It will be criminal if the British Government rejects the opportunity of peace. On its head will lie the responsibility for the deaths not only of Cypriots but of British soldiers in the renewed and severer violence which unhappily would be likely to occur.

In this crisis one thinks of all that is involved rather than of individuals, but I must add that less than justice has been done to Barbara Castle. Instead of recognising that her talk with the Archbishop led to this new opportunity for a settlement, instead of seizing it as a great new hope, Press and politicians have fastened on a misreported phrase about the toughness of the British troops.

She was not blaming the troops. She was condemning the Government for creating the conditions which led to toughness.

It is inevitable that British soldiers should find it difficult to control their anger when one of their companions is stabbed or shot out of the blue. It is inevitable that they should be tough with those whom they suspect of hiding the terrorist. Everyone of us feels for them and for their anxious and bereaved families at home. We condemn not the soldiers, but the Government whose policy has put them in this position.

I deplore that a section of Greek Cypriots ever resorted to terrorism. I have done my best in conversations with Archbishop Makarios to urge that the Indian method of non-violence should be adopted. The Labour organisations of Cyprus have never endorsed terrorism, and some of their members have been murdered by EOKA as traitors.

But our foremost duty now is to urge that the new opportunity of a settlement be seized. If it is rejected by the Government, the responsibility of what follows will lie heavily on its shoulders.

Nyerere must come to power

And now to turn to a very significant event in Africa which has not received the attention which it demands.

There has been an election for the Legislature in Tanganyika. Everyone was compelled to give three votes—one for an African, one for an Asian, and one for a European. In this way the elected members of the Legislative Council, supplemented by British officials, will represent the three races equally.

But the populations of the three races are startlingly unequal. There are 30,000 Europeans, 100,000 Asians and 8,500,000 Africans.

The African organisation, the Tanganyika African National Union, has not unnaturally demanded an African majority in the Legislature. This was refused, but the election result will inevitably mean, unless the British are to come into conflict with the Legislature, that the Constitution will be changed at an early date. TANU has not only won every African seat but Europeans and Asians have been returned who have stood as Independents opposed to the Government policy. Julius Nyerere, who has just faced a charge of sedition, must become Chief Minister.

This event will have a profound effect in East and Central Africa. Tanganyika is the neighbour of Kenya and Uganda. The African leaders in nearby Nyasaland have spoken of federation with Tanganyika and Uganda as African States rather than a continuation of federation with the European dominated Rhodesias. The Tanganyika election will tremendously influence the tempo of the African resurgence both in East and Central Africa. It shows the shape of things to come.

Mauritius in difficulties

Before concluding, let us go further south and look at a little island which lies to the east of Madagascar, suspended between Africa and Asia: the island of Mauritius. I have met in London this week Dr. S. Ramgoolan, the leader of the Mauritius Labour Party, the largest in the Legislative Council. He is very concerned about the economic position of the island.

In five years the unemployed have grown from 3,000 to 30,000, which is 15 per cent of the working population.

He wants the World Bank to make an economic survey with a view to the sugar industry being supplemented by the by-products of sugar, timber, livestock and light industries. In addition, technicians are needed and the Legislative Council is asking the British Government to approach the United Nations for a Technical Mission. A British expert who has just visited the island urges also an extension of technical education.

Help needed

I was in Mauritius four years ago and was captivated by its people. The majority are Indians. There is a considerable mixed Creole race with a strong African strain, and minorities of Chinese traders and French sugar-plantation owners. This island could become an example of inter-racial co-operation, but if there is to be a good life for all its races we must urgently help to plan and develop its economy so that poverty shall be ended.

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WAGING PEACE

By Frank Lees

IN "Waging Peace"* Sir Richard Acland has written an important book: important because it puts forcefully some of the major criticisms of current policy and because it does something to bridge the gap between those who most fear hydrogen war and those who most fear the submergence of the ideals of the West

Both these dangers are real. Present policy is essentially Maginot minded. Excessive preoccupation with military defence is likely to result in the West's flank being turned by the cold war for the minds of men. But even militarily our policies are not likely to be effective, because, as Richard Acland stresses, even if the chance of war in any one year is fifty-to-one against, this still makes war highly likely by the end of the century. Nor have we much justification for assuming that the situation will improve automatically.

But stating the dangers of nuclear armaments does not answer the basic fear which we have in the West of occupation and totalitarian rule. Too often the pacifists and nuclear abolitionists arguments leave this issue untouched. Yet it is vitally important.

TOTALITARIAN DANGER

The whole case for nuclear arms must rest on the belief that without them the West will suffer occupation and that totalitarian rule will begin throughout the world with no prospect of its ending. Only if this consequence is reasonably certain would the West be justified in risking nuclear war.

It should be the spearhead of the pacifist case that this reasonable certainty does not exist.

It is most unlikely that Russia could conquer and digest the West. She might well occupy it, but there would be far reaching changes in Russia itself.

Russia is vulnerable through its thinkers. It is unlikely that either present day capitalism or Communism will survive. What is probable is that humane ideals, which are found in both societies in differing degrees and with different emphasis will live on.

THE FIRST STEP

More immediately, if Britain alone were to disarm and to refuse to shelter behind America, Russian occupation is unlikely. This is because it would be contrary to the Russian leaders' estimate of their own best interests.

They are concerned to win men's minds and military occupation of an unarmed country is not the way to do this.

Apart from the clear statement of the dangers of present policy and the attempt to answer the prime fear of the West, there is a third important aspect of Sir Richard Acland's book.

Nuclear disarmament should be the first step in a new policy for Britain in which the most important item would be a war on world poverty. This is vitally urgent, but it can only be carried out by a nation not committed to either side.

Richard Acland is careful to say he is not a pacifist and still favours small conventional forces for action of police nature. Nor is he convinced that war with Nazi Germany was wrong. But his policy for the present situation is pacifist in it's practical consequences and aims.

**Frederick Muller, 13s. 6d.*

'CAMPAIGN AND KING-HALL'

TO THE EDITOR,

From Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall.

YOU have misunderstood my position. I regard it as most satisfactory that the defence strategy I advocate is also moral.

All I am saying is that its moral attributes do not seem to appeal to many people whose support I seek, therefore I stress its advantages from points of view other than that of the moralists.

The statements that:

(a) It pays to be honest; and

(b) It is morally right to be honest are both correct.

Excluding the readers of PN, we are dealing with wicked men in a wicked world, some of whom may be more impressed if one could prove to them that (a) is true, than if one wags a finger at them and talks in terms of (b).—**STEPHEN KING-HALL, Headley, Bordon, Hants.**

Photo: Underwood. **"Scientists on Trial" are from left: Prof. Oliphant, Dr. Linus Pauling and Prof. Powell.** **See page six.**

PEACE NEWS
AUTUMN BAZAAR
SATURDAY 3 p.m. OCTOBER 4
Wanstead Friends Meeting House
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To be opened by Harry Hister
All proceeds for the Peace News Fund
Gifts for sale will be warmly welcomed
E.10/E.11 PPU Group, 60 Bushwood, London, E.11

Geneva, Kitzbuhel and Vienna

I HAVE just returned from attending, as an observer, the second Atoms-for-Peace Conference in Geneva, followed by active participation in the third "Pugwash Conference" in Kitzbühel and Vienna.

The first was an enormous affair, held in a blaze of publicity; it was said that nearly 1,000 reporters and other representatives of publicity media were expected. The second was a small private meeting of some 67 scientists from 19 countries of East and West, followed by public meetings in Vienna which achieved some local publicity but were not much noticed by the world Press.

Scientific exhibition

At the first Atoms-for-Peace Conference in 1955, scientists from the U.S.A and the U.S.S.R. really got to know (and to respect) each other for the first time. This time they met, in many cases, as old friends; and U.S.A. scientists were overheard urging their opposite numbers in the U.S.S.R. to try certain experiments and vice versa.

I attended a number of the Press Conferences because it was much the best way of finding out what was going on in each of the five simultaneous sessions; I was interested both in the intelligent questions asked by obviously knowledgeable reporters and in the triviality of their subsequent newspaper reports.

There was also, in a huge temporary building in the grounds of the Palais des Nations, a scientific exhibition open for many hours each day to the public as well as to conference members. Here one might see a replica of Sputnik III, a working atomic reactor, a model of a nuclear power station; and of the various devices that may one day (but not just yet by any means) give us electrical power from a process similar to that going on in the sun.

What were the impressions that I brought away?

First of all, a realisation that power from nuclear fuel is going to be an increasingly important feature of the world's economy in the next fifty years or so. Although the U.S.A., Canada and South Africa appear to have the richest uranium deposits (information about deposits in the Communist countries is not yet available), yet uranium and thorium are very widely spread all over the world and much prospecting both on land and from the air is going on.

New industrial age

Many industrialised countries are even now importing coal and oil, and the expanding demands of industry and of private consumers make it clear that conventional sources of power, including hydro-electric power, are not going to satisfy their needs. So they are learning to use this new and rather alarming tool; their scientists and technicians are gaining experience with small reactors, while Britain, the USSR, the USA and Canada and now France are experimenting with different types of nuclear power reactors to see which are the safest, most efficient and most economical to run on a big scale.

We shall, I believe, be running our heads against a brick wall if we suppose that we can halt this development. The world, in fact, is in the initial stages of a new industrial age.

It is not at all certain as yet, however, whether this development will help the technically under-developed nations or whether it will still further widen the gap between their standard of living and ours. It is not just a question of giving them nuclear power. They cannot even begin to use it without the fulfilment of certain preliminary conditions of which the major one is technical education, at least for a considerable number of their brighter young people.

Nuclear weapons for all?

Indeed it is possible that the more important peaceful uses of atomic energy, as far as these highly-populated and largely tropical areas are concerned, may be in the fields of agriculture and food production and preservation, and medicine. A great deal was learned at Geneva about developments in these directions.

Another impression I brought away, however, was that money and effort wasted in needless duplication of research and development in the three major nuclear powers, duplication brought about by State enforced secrecy, could have solved many of our world problems if only it had been better applied. It takes $50,000,000 to build a power-reactor; a little over one-tenth of that amount would clear all the refugee camps that are still the responsibility of the United Nations.

Since it was an Atoms-for-Peace Conference, almost nothing was said about atoms for war. Yet it must have been apparent to any thinking person that the wide-spread distribution of uranium and of the knowledge of nuclear technology does bring very near indeed the day when almost any nation will be able to make nuclear weapons. Even the intense study now going on of the hazards involved in the peaceful uses of atomic energy does also throw a flood of light on the fearful damage involved in their warlike use.

KATHLEEN LONSDALE

It was this knowledge that brought together a small number of especially knowledgeable and concerned scientists, by invitation, in Kitzbühel, Austria. This meeting was a continuation of two even smaller but similar conferences, the first (which has given its name to the series) being held at Pugwash, Nova Scotia; the second at Lac Beaufort, Quebec.

Statement to scientists

The fact that the third was held in Austria was largely due to the intense and helpful interest of the Federal President, and of the Lord Mayor of Vienna. Both were present at a meeting of some 7,000 people in the Vienna City Hall on September 20, where scientists from Austria, Britain, Canada, France, India, Japan, Poland, USA and USSR spoke on the necessity! to end *all* wars, requirements for ending the arms race, what war would mean, the hazards of bomb tests, science and international co-operation, technology in the service of peace and the responsibility of scientists.

A statement agreed to by 65 of the 67 scientists present and a list of their names and countries was released to the Press. So far I have seen little notice taken of it, but copies of it will also be sent, as far as possible, to scientists all over the world, in the hope that what was begun at Pugwash, by way of discussion on fundamental and urgent social and political problems involved in the application of scientific knowledge, may spread to wider and wider circles.

What I found most interesting and hopeful in the Kitzbühel and Vienna discussions was the full realisation that nuclear disarmament alone was not enough, even if that could be achieved, and that the problem of this and future generations is to get rid of war altogether and of the injustice and rivalries that breed wars.

DISARMAMENT AND CONTROLS

THREE distinguished scientists were put "on trial" at a meeting of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on Sept. 22 in London. The scientists were Dr. Linus Pauling, Professor Marcus Oliphant, and Professor C. F. Powell, who answered questions fired at them by Liberal candidate, Ludovic Kennedy, writer Margaret Lane, political editor of the Economist, Keith Powell and Neil Lawson, QC. The report of the meeting is continued from last week's PN below.

PART II

'Scientists on Trial'

From Constance Willis

SECRET MANUFACTURE

MARGARET LANE: *Would it not be comparatively easy to manufacture nuclear weapons in secret and smuggle them across frontiers?*

PROF. OLIPHANT: On a small scale this would not matter. We cannot have one hundred per cent safety.

PROF. POWELL: We are in a situation where, if we employ our resources wisely, we can produce an unprecedented growth in the general wellbeing of mankind. We are in the process of transition to a single world organisation. We begin to see the embryonic stages in joint activities. Either we make a world where individual nations live at peace in this new stage of world history, or we suffer catastrophe.

LUDOVIC KENNEDY: *How is this international control to be organised?*

PROF. POWELL: It is relatively easy in some areas. You can control the making of weapons, but it is going to be more difficult to have complete verification of stocks, which is technically very complicated. You must also have the growth of confidence based upon successful operation in limited fields.

PROF. OLIPHANT: We have not got the possibility of establishing really fool-proof control over the banning of tests, and we will learn slowly.

KEITH POWELL: *Do we have to preserve on our side, meantime, the capacity for retaliating?*

PROF. OLIPHANT: What good does it do? In the case of Gt. Britain this is of supreme importance. To say we can retaliate just does not do us any good; it only makes it much more likely that we shall have nuclear bombs dropped on us.

MARGARET LANE: *Can you see anything special that you, as scientists, can do towards putting an end to nuclear war?*

DR. LINUS PAULING: Pugwash has shown the way. We can get together scientists of many nations. But there is much more that can be done. Here we had 75 scientists (including 18 from America and ten from Russia) who had got together for a few days. What a puny effort this is compared with the $100,000,000,000 a year that the world spends on armaments! I do not feel gloomy; I am an optimist. If we learn what the situation is we can keep the world from being destroyed. I am sure there is never going to be a great war again. Human beings are sensible enough, and I think morality plays an important part.

The improvement in weapons in the past was nothing compared with this. In the modern world we solve problems by research. But nobody works for research on work for peace. This is what we have to do: Put some money into a direct attack on this great world problem. Solve these problems in a rational way.

LUDOVIC KENNEDY: *Would you like to see the United States unilaterally disarm?*

DR. LINUS PAULING: What is the service in making them greater every year? Haven't we gone beyond the place where we already have enough to do the job that everyone wants done anyway: Preserving this balance. We are going to have force in the world for a long time yet. I do not want to see the stockpiles destroyed and go back to old-fashioned war. We must try to find the way to preserve the world's equilibrium without using these weapons. Neutral nations can play a great role in this, and Gt. Britain can play a very great role. Let us have a great research institute to work on these problems, and put resources into a direct attack.

PROF. POWELL: I don't believe we are going to have a war, provided you do your part. You are the sinews of peace, and you see how strong the sinews of peace are. It was exceedingly inspiring for us in Vienna to find 10,000 people listening with the closest attention to a report from the members of the Pugwash Conference. This meeting was followed with the closest attention, the audience consisting largely of young people.

POPULATION

KEITH POWELL: *Isn't there a distinction between two things:*

1. *Presenting these scientific facts to support the kind of negotiations which went on in Geneva, and*

2. *The kind of statement which leads people to believe that there would be a great advantage in our side renouncing its nuclear weapons unilaterally?*

PROF. OLIPHANT: We are presented, for the first time in history, with the necessity of facing the fact that there is no point in saying to the other side "If you destroy me, I'll destroy you" . . . We can overdestroy one another.

LUDOVIC KENNEDY: *The population is increasing, thanks largely to medicine which is prolonging life. Do you think that because of this swelling population—which, according to the food reports of Lord Boyd Orr and other authorities makes one feel that the food resources will be insufficient—there is a danger that a nuclear war may be a kind of solution? (Loud and universal protest from the audience.)*

PROF. OLIPHANT: There could be an enormous increase in the productivity of the land. In China especially, with a population of 600,000,000, there could be a greatly increased fertility of the land, and they have time to level off the population without suffering disaster.

PROF. POWELL: This is a very serious problem which we will have to think about, study, and act upon.

DR. LINUS PAULING: The very difficult population problem is one of interest to scientists all over the world. Scientists are united in believing that the solution is not in war or in famine, but in control of the population; there are religious and practical difficulties, but the problem will be solved before many years have gone by. It is not contiguous with the problem of preventing destruction. Population pressure has led to war in the past, but it will not do so in the future. If it does occur, it will be either because of accidents or because of the action of some individual who is insane.

☐ ON PAGE SEVEN

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DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:
1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include Date **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, October 3

ALTRINCHAM: 8 p.m. YWCA, Ashley Rd. "Any Questions on Nuclear Disarmament." G. D. Tinkler, D. Holmes, Coun. S. Orme, Rev. A. W. Vallance, L. Cowan. Chair: Rev. E. J. B. Jones, MA, LIB. CND

LONDON, E.17: 8.30 p.m. Friends Hall, Greenleaf Rd., Walthamstow. Dave Goodman "Stockholm Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation." Walthamstow Peace Council.

LONDON, N.10.: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Church Cres., Hornsey. Film Show incl. "The Japanese Fishermen." Discussion. CND

LONDON, S.W.6.: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Fulham Town Hall. CO Tribunal.

Saturday, October 4

CROYDON: 4.30 p.m.; Adult School Hall, Park Lane. Autumn Social. Stalls, Children's Tea Party, Member of the Magic Circle, Westminster Players, Music, Running Buffet. Surrey Area PPU.

HORNCHURCH: 3 p.m. Corner of Billet Lane and Hornchurch Rd. Poster parade and Open-air mtg. Hornchurch Way to Peace Group.

LEYTONSTONE, E.11: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., (nr. Green Man) Bazaar, Garden Party, and Concert for Peace News Funds. Gifts and offers of help please, to John Barnard, 60 Bushwood, E.11. Leyton PPU and Peace News.

Sunday, October 5

COULSDON: 3 p.m. 87 Chaldon Way. Stuart Morris on his recent visit to Russia. PPU Surrey Area.

Monday, October 6

WALTHAMSTOW: 8 p.m. William Morris Hall, Somers Rd., E.17. Films. Admission Free. CND.

Tuesday, October 7

GT. YARMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Mass mtg. "Is Peace Possible?" Vera Brittain, Stuart Morris. Chair: Dr. John Weston Wells, radiologist. Admission free. Reserved tickets 6d. from 3 Camperdown, Gt. Yarmouth.

Wednesday, October 8

LONDON, N.W.1.: 7.15 p.m., Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "The Peace Issue and its International Implications at the Labour Party Conference." Discussion led by James Avery Joyce and Russell Kerr. LPF

LONDON, W.2.: 7.45 p.m. Porchester Hall, Porchester Rd., Paddington. M. Nekrasov (Pravda), Geoffrey Goodman (Daily Herald), Mervyn Jones (Tribune). "What is a Sane Nuclear Policy?" CND.

SOUTH SHIELDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Metg. Ho., 164 Westoe Rd. Dr. Frank Farmer, the Rev. Eric Robinson, County Coun. M. Campbell, Mrs. Nora Turnbull. Chair: Coun. J. W. Ireland. CND.

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA: 7 p.m. 78A Norman Rd., Monthly mtg. Jack K. Nutley. PPU.

Thursday, October 9

LINCOLN: Co-op Hall. Geoffrey de Freitas, MP, Victor Feather, Alec Horsley, Dr. J. Weston Wells. CND.

LONDON, E.11.: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Carol Taylor "Physics, Geography and Pacifism." PPU.

NOTTINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Friends School Rooms, Friar Lane. Re-dedication Service. Rev Donald Douglas. FoR.

Friday, October 10

CHIPPENHAM: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Rev. Noel Calvin, Antoinette Pirie. CND.

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Emmanuel Church. Joint Service with the FoR and MPF. APF.

ORPINGTON: 8 p.m. Village Hall, High St., "Any Questions?" Alma Birk, Nigel Calder, Martin Dakin, Dr. Duncan Leys, Rev. Francis Noble. Orpington CND.

PLYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Methodist Central Hall. Public Meeting. Benn Levy, Col. Geoffrey Taylor, Michael Foot, Rev. John Molland, Mrs. Alan Gibson. Chair: L. S. Pawley. CND.

UPMINSTER: 8 p.m. St. Mary's Lane (nr. Bell) "A visit to Germany," Syd Booker. Hornchurch Way to Peace Group.

Sunday, October 12

CHELMSFORD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Public Mtg. "Is Nuclear Disarmament enought for the Christian?" Fred Moorhouse. SoF and FoR.

Monday, October 13

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Les Mallowes on the Summer School at Borth and Stan Bray on the IVS Work Camp at Penn. PPU.

GODALMING: Court Room. Francis Jude. CND.

LONDON, S.W.1.: 10.30 a.m. and & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. CO Appellate Tribunal.

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. PPU.

Tuesday, October 14

REIGATE: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Service of Rededication. Reigate and Redhill FoR.

Thursday, October 16

ALTON: 7.45 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. "A Non-Violent Society" David Lee. PPU.

LONDON, E.11.: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Sid Parker "A Case for Anarchism." PPU.

PALMERS GREEN, N.13.: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd., Stuart Morris "My recent visit to Russia." PPU.

REDHILL: 8 p.m. Colman's Institute. Dr. Alex Comfort. Film. Reigate and Redhill CND.

Saturday, October 18

LEEDS: Yorks. Annual CO Re-union. 3 p.m., AGM NE Reg. Board. 4.30 p.m. Open mtg. "The CO Dormant in Modern Society?" 5.30 p.m. Tea.

Saturday and Sunday, October 18 and 19

DROGHEDA: The Drogheda Grammar School, Ireland. "Reconciliation in Ireland" Conference. Org. by the FoR in conjunction with the Irish Pacifist Movement. Details from D. P. Barritt, Hill Cottage, Ballycairn, Lisburn, Co. Down.

Sunday, October 19

LONDON, W.C.1: 2.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Conference for prospective conscientious objectors. Arthur Goss, Bryan Reed (Sec., Central Board for CO's). Tea provided. SoF.

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Every week!

SUNDAY

GLASGOW: 8 p.m. Queens Park Gate (top of Victoria Rd). Open-air meeting.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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PN readers have their say

Notting Hill and Nottingham

MUCH has been written and said recently regarding the advisability or otherwise of returning some or all coloured people to their native lands. Disregarding the reactions of Colonial peoples to such drastic nonsense, it would be well for us to admit that if they were all deported, the craving for self-expression among our adolescents would remain unappeased, ready to be caught in any whirlpool whipped by the frenzy of unscrupulous adult bullies, seeking power through hate and bludgeon.

The assumption that youth can be bridled and denied self-expression by the police, prison sentences and retaliatory government decrees is an admission that Establishment has no remedy other than the evil it would suppress.

The only permanent and effective solution lies in channelling the energy of youth into constructive, remedial spheres of social and civic service. This cannot be done by youth clubs as we know them, or through military or religious mediums in which the personality and individuality lacks scope, pride of achievement is cauterised within the group and full civic responsibility cannot blossom. I do not seek to minimise the value of the work of many well-intentioned men and women. My concern is for the hiatus between child and adult which their work has failed to touch; those—probably the best—who see our country hypocritical in religion, false to professed moral principles and politically corrupt.

1. Every local authority shall have a youth forum. Election to the forum to be conducted within the same boundaries and divisions as those governing local authorities. Various suggestions can be considered:

(a) Only adolescents of either sex to be eligible as voters, for nomination and for election to the forum.

(b) Costs for compiling the voters register together with all official election expenses, including the employment of necessary officials and premises for the conduct of the business of the forum, shall be a charge on the rate as for local authorities.

(c) All (and only) voters with the exception of a qualified clerk and the Press (unless authorised by a majority vote of the forum) be allowed to attend meetings of the forum.

2. Definite responsibilities be allocated to the forum.

(a) Charge of playing fields, youth centres and youth clubs, swimming baths, childrens school crossings, rights of way, amateur theatricals, dance halls, street marshals, etc., etc.

(b) Any one member of the forum shall have the right to attend the local court and juvenile court and be heard. His—or her—status to be that of a non-voting magistrate.

3. The Forum shall have power similar to a parish council to propose a charge on the local rate to finance its work and recommendations.

4. In the event of a local authority rejecting any proposal from a forum, the forum shall have the right to appeal direct to the responsible Minister and must be heard.

Obviously the above, through lack of space can give but the barest details of the Youth Charter. Interested readers will discern its possibilities (training centres, national leagues for all sports, rolls of honour for success at exams, sports, life-saving, they are endless.)

A new and speculative departure? Certainly, so also is the launching of Sputniks, but I know which would be the more profitable to the youth of our land. —**JOSEPH FLEMING, 2 Chester Road, Southwold, Suffolk.**

Pacifism and Hitler

IF pacifism would have failed against Hitler (and most people would agree with Thomas Osborn that it would) the question arises in what way conditions have changed since the first three centuries of our era, in which pacifism worked, at least in the sense that a handful of non-violent Christians converted most of the people in the Roman Empire.

Hitler was no wickeder than the worst Roman emperors, and ordinary Germans are on the whole less cruel than ordinary ancient Romans were. Is it that present-day pacifists are less brave and less enterprising than the early Christians? I am not writing this in a spirit of superiority, because I am not at all brave, but could the Nazi regime have been undermined by British pacifists going to Germany and speaking against the regime until arrested?

Or is it that modern inventions have made it possible to organise tyranny so that it cannot be resisted as ancient Roman tyranny could?

Or is it that our view of what constitutes success is too short? Ought we to have accepted the Nazi occupation of these islands, with all that that implies, in the faith that we and our successors might be able to humanise it from within by perhaps the year 2300?

It would have been very hard to accept one's own imprisonment and the deaths of Jewish friends in that faith—especially Jews who had already escaped once from the Nazi terror. The early Christians did not defend each other from persecution, but they never had to face the problem of the persecution of non-Christian friends.

What problems does Mr. Osborn think we should be facing now that the Russians have become the enemy that most of us fear?—**JANE DARROCH, 9, Falgon Gardens, Edinburgh 10.**

'SCIENTISTS ON TRIAL'

☐ FROM PAGE SIX

NEIL LAWSON, QC: *Do you rule out unilateral renunciation?*

PROF. POWELL: I am in favour of negotiated settlements on a growing range of issues.

LUDOVIC KENNEDY: *The Campaign has been going on for several months and has had an enormous response. Sir Stephen King-Hall wrote recently in the New Statesman: "It is concerned primarily with moral and pacifist issues," but it strikes me as being the greatest political issue of our time. If the Campaign people want action why not connect with one of the three Parties or form a fourth Party?*

PROF. OLIPHANT: The problem is one which you cannot tackle all at once. It is asking too much of humanity and of the national leaders. The scientists in Kitzbuhel have so welcomed this decision by the committee which met in Geneva that the ending of atomic bomb tests should be the beginning. The control of atomic bomb tests in itself is not of major importance, but is very important as the beginning of a system which might develop a feeling amongst nations that they don't mind control methods which, in the end, could eliminate war as a whole.

PROF. POWELL: What is the alternative? While we seek to destroy the missiles of the enemy in the air it can swallow up eighty per cent of our technical resources.

DR. LINUS PAULING: Let there be an effective international agreement, including all nations, to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons. The nations of the world have never been in such great danger in the whole history of the world. Something should be done to decrease the danger. I am a realist; the people who put their faith in the power of destruction are not realists. I am selfish; I do not want to die; I do not want to see our beautiful country destroyed by nuclear weapons. But I am glad that, for the first time in the history of the world, realism and personal and national selfishness can march along hand in hand with morality. In years gone by, if the question was asked: "Is it possible for a moral man to represent his nation as a diplomat," the answer was "No," because it has been considered proper for a country to do good for itself at the expense of suffering for other nations. That time is past. We live at the unique epoch when wars will no longer benefit anyone. We have to give up war and become moral human beings.

PROF. OLIPHANT: There is one qualification. In fact, what the leaders of the great nations (USSR and USA) are doing today is playing a game of bluff. I do not believe either of them do not know what nuclear war means. I believe that neither side is likely to use an atomic weapon. This may mean that we have overplayed our hand and that the bluff of nuclear war may make little local wars more profitable.

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MEETINGS

SCREEN VIEWERS PANEL. Discussion. Anti-Nazi "Holiday on Sylt" banned by TV & film Censors. Tues. Oct. 14. 7.45 p.m. U.L.R., 7 Carlisle St., W.1. All welcome 2s. 6d.

STANLEY LIEF on "Health—Your Birthright." Caxton Hall, Monday, October 6, 7.30. London Natural Health Society.

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Open day and . .

A SECOND English Bruderhof has been opened at Bulstrode, Gerrards Cross, Bucks. and the 80 members of the Society of Brothers are to hold an open-day there tomorrow.

Next week Peace News will be publishing an article about the Bruderhof, the first of a series describing moves by groups and individuals in Britain in the direction of a peaceful society.

Those who wish to visit the Bruderhof tomorrow should travel to Uxbridge station and thence by 455 bus which stops at the gate.

. . open talk

THE Drogheda Grammar School will be the venue for a week-end conference organised by pacifist organisations in the Republic and in Northern Ireland, opening on Oct. 18.

The Republican viewpoint, "The British troops must go," will be put by Myles P. Shevlin, a member of the Sinn Fein party, speaking in a personal capacity.

Alderman W. R. Boyd, MP, of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, will speak on "Partition—Plus Progressive Reform."

Accommodation at the White Horse Hotel costs 31s. and may be booked through V. J. Meally, 98 Trees Road, Mount Merrion, Co. Dublin, or D. P. Barritt, Hill Cottage, Ballycairn, Lisburn, Co. Down.

Mass meeting at Yarmouth

VERA BRITTAIN, Chairman of the Board of Peace News, and Stuart Morris, another Director, will be speaking at a PPU mass meeting in the Town Hall, Great Yarmouth next Tuesday, October 7, at 7.30 p.m. The meeting will be chaired by Dr. Weston Wells, and tickets, price 6d. each, are available from Mr. H. Miller at 3 Camperdown, Great Yarmouth.

MORE TESTS COMING

Russia and the U.S.A. are engaging in a new series of H-bomb test explosions.

OUT AND ABOUT WITH THE CAMPAIGN

H-bomb warfare and you

By TERENCE CHIVERS

BELIEVERS in the deterrent theory should have been present recently at an Enfield (Middlesex) Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament meeting where they would have received some necessary education.

As Canon John Collins, Chairman of the Campaign put it, the H-bomb's "main effect was to deter the British people from ever knowing the Russians, and the Russians from ever knowing us."

Canon Collins also let it be known that many of the parsons who weren't giving a lead against war might well be thankful for a little encouragement from their parishioners:

"I believe many of them (the parsons) are waiting for a lead from their people. Don't leave it to the parson. What the church does is the responsibility of every single person in it. Much more could be done if small groups of Christians took the lead in their own churches."

This the most vital question in the world, had also to be the foremost issue in the next general election, declared Canon Collins. He suggested asking the candidates to state their views, support being given to those with the most satisfactory assurances. In reply to a questioner he agreed that it might be necessary to refuse to vote for any candidate if every other means of influencing them had failed.

The grim figure of 50 or 100 casualties caused by tests so far was presented to the audience by Dr. John Maynard Smith, geneticist and lecturer of University College, London, the next speaker.

Bill Owen speaks out

Another personality who took the H-bomb very seriously was Bill Owen, the TV actor, well known for his spry Cockney humour, who delivered an impassioned speech to a Brighton audience on Sept 23.

He had come, he told the CND meeting, "because I would sooner have no fans at all and have my family alive."

The horrifying thing was that people seemed disinterested about the frightful dangers of nuclear weapons. But as far as he was concerned: "I do not like sitting on an arsenal. I just want to get on with the job of living."

So saying, Bill Owen pulled a string and an exhibition consisting of 17 large panels showing the need for nuclear disarmament, was revealed.

Enquiries regarding the loan of the exhibition should be sent to Miss M. Packham, 79 Montgomery St., Hove 3.

The one moment that will stick in the memory of Aberdare's Ban the Bomb week came at the end of the tape-recording of the Fumio Nakamura letters.

The meeting listened in tense silence as actress Jill Balcon's voice spoke the words written by a man who was dying of radiation disease and by his wife. When the tape recording had ended the audience sat in what can only be described as an awful silence for 60 seconds. There was not even a round of polite applause. Such was the effect of the letters on people who had little knowledge of what radiation disease even means.

175 inches of publicity

A realistic point of view came from Trevor Williams, political correspondent of the Daily Herald. He thought the only power available to Britain which was now no more than "a small island off Europe," and which possessed such a small amount of atomic equipment compared to Russia that its possession was no deterrent in any case, was in the moral sphere. Our moral leadership, if we banned the bomb unilaterally might count for much among the non-nuclear powers, and even the great powers might follow our example.

Probably most people would not have expected a small dormitory town like Horsforth (population 15,000), five miles outside Leeds, to respond very kindly to the efforts of the local CND group.

But since July—the group was only formed in June—there have been almost weekly Press reports in four local newspapers totalling 175 column inches two Press photos, and seven letters in the correspondence columns. In addition to this the group itself displayed four double column advertisements in newspapers.

At Stanmore (London) an audience which had been addressed by Frank Beswick, MP, Dr. D. K. Butt, of London University, and Merlyn Rees, prospective Labour candidate for Harrow East, passed a resolution calling for an end to nuclear weapons testing and manufacture and the termination of work on missile bases in this country. At Hammersmith, the local CND group arranged a meeting addressed by the Rev. Francis Noble, Dr. Peter Astbury and Dr. Anthony Ryle.

"H-bomb warfare and you" is the title of a leaflet announcing this week's actvities to the citizens of Altrincham (Cheshire).

It "may well be the largest public meeting to be held in Lincoln," commented a local newspaper of the Oct. 9 meeting there supported by the Lincoln CND group and organised by the local Labour Party, Trades Council, Co-op. Society and UNA.

And to add to this news from Britain comes the latest from the USA: Earle Reynolds, who tried to take his ketch, the Phœnix of Hiroshima, into the Pacific H-test area, remains on bail pending a sentence of six months.

Aldermaston

● FROM PAGE ONE

Dr. Soper, "who belongs to a movement which may be said to crystallise the fears and bewilderment of thousands of people in this country.

". . . it would have been fitting for Sir William and Dr. Soper to have met and explained to each other their respective points of view. At any rate, it would have been in keeping with the best traditions of a civilisation whose existence is threatened by weapons of mass destruction."

After sounding a warning against dismissing the question of the H-bomb from one's mind, the writer continued:

"Perhaps demonstrations such as the one in Aldermaston car park, however cranky they may seem, do some good by forcing us to exercise our minds and consciences."

In a letter handed to the Deputy Director, Dr. Levin, before leaving Aldermaston the Committee put forward the following questions which they said they would like to discuss:

1. Dr. Linus Pauling has estimated that testing will produce 150,000 seriously defective children and that 15,000 defects are likely to result from each explosion. Do you agree? If not, what estimates would you give?

2. Is it true that in the event of a nuclear attack on this country almost everyone would be annihilated?

3. Do you think that brinkmanship can go on for ever?

4. The Government has stated its intention of using nuclear weapons in the event of a major conventional attack by Russia. Do you believe that democratic values can be defended by indiscriminate destruction or the use of nuclear weapons can ever be compatible with Christianity?

A written reply to these questions is now being sought.

By Sybil Morrison

The tools and the job

Mr. Eisenhower with Mr. Dulles's full support, . . . has given strictest orders that, if it came to American intervention in the Formosa Strait, nuclear weapons must not be used. It is his considered view that conventional weapons could do the job.
—The Sunday Times. September 28, 1958.

IT is not in the least surprising that the leaders of the Great Powers today, should not only hesitate to use nuclear weapons, but categorically refuse to use them.

The paradoxical policy of the deterrent that will never be used is revealed in its full futility when it is seen in the light of Mr. Eisenhower's orders. Plainly nuclear weapons may be relied upon, up to a point, to deter a nuclear war, but are completely useless as a means of deterring a "conventional" war.

"Conventional weapons can do the job." The phrase has a distinct echo of the past, for few people have been allowed to forget Churchill's famous plea to the United States at the beginning of the second world war: "Give us the tools and we'll finish the job."

Both phrases refer to war as a "job," causing imagination to stop short of its real meaning. "Tools," and a "job," immediately conjure up a particular picture of, probably, a British workman at his industrial craft. In the same way, Eisenhower's reference to "intervention" in the Formosa Straits as a "job" gives an impression of a simple piece of work to be undertaken by the nation, without very much difficulty.

Yet the "job" in both these references means war, and "conventional weapons" include jet bombing planes carrying high explosive, as well as tanks, guns and guided missiles. The "tools" which America sent to Winston Churchill were bombers loaded with bombs that were used in so-called "obliteration bombing" of Germany.

The meaning of the word "obliterate" is "to erase or efface entirely"; the "conventional" method, therefore, entailed finishing the job, by the process of endeavouring "to erase and efface" whole centres of population.

Day and night the bombs whistled and shrieked down upon towns in Germany; day and night houses, factories, railway stations, churches, and hospitals were smashed; day and night men, women and children were wounded, mutilated, burned, blinded, or blown into fragments.

This is the "job," and these are the "conventional weapons" which are considered adequate to carry it out, and it is clear that the only real objective, and the only "job" envisaged, is victory.

It does not mean a settlement of any kind other than by conquest; it has no intention to sooth resentment, or allay bitterness; it has nothing to do with either tolerance or moderation; in fact the whole idea is, that these things can be considered when the job of victory has been ensured.

Nuclear weapons are forbidden merely because their use might bring about retaliation in kind, which would precipitate the horrible holocaust of a world nuclear war. Naturally neither side have any particular wish to blow themselves as well as their enemies to pieces, but the danger of this happening cannot be absent so long as nations continue to rely upon war as a means towards some particular end.

The age-old habit of war, the long-proved mistaken belief that matters of dispute or disagreement can more easily be settled by resort to it than by other means, remains persistently unchanged. There can be no doubt that it is this basic belief, this determined reliance upon military means which is the most formidable obstacle to peace today.

It is hard to see why those who not only countenanced, but instigated, "obliteration bombing," should hesitate to use any means, (as indeed they did not hesitate to use the atom bomb), short of destroying themselves. It is only when they come to recognise that their "tools" are instruments of supreme evil, and their "job" is the devil's own work, that an end will be made to war.

The only realistic alternative policy to the pursuit of peace through the threat of world annihilation, is the repudiation and renunciation of war itself.

Published by Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, and Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, N.4.